/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
177 quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
935 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
933 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
464 lage.

184 In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
157 women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

361 Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
177 Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
114 achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
162 of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
177 post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
tion of the region are not infrequent.

361 Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueí-
621 rinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
162 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá sub-
group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
114 men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
114 portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
464 for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos partici- [433] pate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detri- 621 182 563 177 ment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, 78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost • [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

2: Schaden--230 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaranĺ culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
179 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaranĺ are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaranĺ, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the dismivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

2: Schaden--231 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/181 cont./
recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of